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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

MOROCCO

PART 3

January to December 1949

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	Subject	Page
GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE			
1 Consul-General Mallet (Tangier) **No. 7**	1949 Jan. 7	Annual review of Events in Tangier during 1948	1
2 Acting Consul-General Garner (Tangier) **No. 22**	Feb. 9	Frontier between the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco ... ... Meeting of the Committee of Control to discuss the delimitation of the frontier. Views of the Belgian Consul-General regarding the unjustification of Spanish claims. Extract from the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1912	7
3 Consul-General Stirling (Tangier) **No. 51**	May 14	Problems facing the Administration of the International Zone of Tangier ... ... A conversation with the Administrator, M. van Vredenburch regarding his difficulties under the existing system. Request for Foreign Office guidance regarding the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the future of Tangier	8
4 Consul-General Cane (Rabat) **No. 22**	July 6	French Policy in North Africa ... ... Statement by General Juin at the opening of the Conseil du Gouvernement	9
5 Consul-General Cane **No. 23**	July 19	Opening Sessions of the Conseil du Gouvernement in French Morocco ... ... Account of the proceedings in both the French and Moroccan Sessions	11
6 To Acting Consul-General Garner **No. 60**	Aug. 16	Policy of His Majesty's Government regarding the future of Tangier ... ... Views of the Foreign Office regarding the undesirability of calling a Tangier Conference in view of the sensitivity of public opinion towards the Spanish Government; the recognition of the preponderant interest of France and Spain in Tangier and the difficulty of formulating a policy regarding the future régime in Tangier	12
7 Consul-General Cane to Mr. Clutton (African Dept.)	Nov. 16	Situation in French Morocco ... ... Renewed activities, after a summer lull, of the Istiglal Party in French Morocco; the rising cost of living and poor citrus crop occasioned by the prolonged drought; disquiet at repressive police measures obtaining in the Spanish Zone	13
APPENDIX			
Biographical Notes			
8 Consul-General Stirling **No. 102**	1949 Sept. 17	Annual report on the Leading Personalities in Tangier for 1949	15
9 Consul-General Stirling **No. 103**	Sept. 17	Annual Report on the Heads of Foreign Missions in Tangier for 1949	19

SUBJECT INDEX

[The figures denote the serial numbers of the documents]

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES—
Heads of Foreign Missions in Tangier—9.
Leading Personalities in Tangier—8.

FRENCH MOROCCO—
French Policy; statement by General Juin—4.
Opening sessions of the *Conseil du Gouvernement*—5.
Situation in—7.

TANGIER, INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF—
Annual review of events during 1948—1.
Delimitation of the frontier with Spanish Morocco—2.
Policy of His Majesty's Government—6.
Problems facing the Administrator—3.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

MOROCCO—PART 3

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

J 396/1011/28

No. 1

TANGIER: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1948

Consul-General Mallet to Mr. Bevin. (*Received* 17*th January*)

(No. 7)

Sir, *Tangier, 7th January*, 1949.

I have the honour to transmit herewith my report on events in Tangier during the year 1948.

I have, &c.
W. I. MALLET.

Enclosure in No. 1

Report on Events in Tangier during 1948

During 1948 Tangier continued to enjoy undiminished prosperity. Indeed, the revenue received from the Customs, which represents the greatest part of the revenue of the zone, the amount of foreign money seeking refuge and investment, and the number of new companies formed, reached new heights. The figures of Tangier's imports for the first nine months of the year were approximately 5,600 million francs and of her exports approximately 725 million francs. The United Kingdom share of this trade amounted to—

	Francs
Imports	520,828,023
Exports	1,068,703

The budget receipts, which for 1947 were over 1,000 million against expenditure of about 600 million, are expected during 1948 to have amounted to 1,300 million against expenditure of some 950 million.

2. The Administration succeeded in completing their negotiations for paying off the 7 per cent. Dutch port loan of 1928 on very favourable terms. When this transaction is completed Tangier will be practically without external debt and will be in a position to seek a new loan if such should be needed for further port works or measures of social reform, or the improvement of the water and electricity supplies, &c. The Administrator is, however, doubtful whether it will be possible to raise a long-term loan on acceptable terms so long as Tangier is under a provisional régime.

Committee of Control

3. The turn to preside over the Committee of Control fell during the year to the Netherlands Consul-General. As he was, however, a good deal absent, the next in alphabetical order, the Portuguese Consul-General, presided at a good many of the meetings. On 23rd April the Italian Consul-General was admitted to the meetings of the Committee of Control. He tried to argue that, as it had been no fault of his country's that Italy had not been admitted during 1947, he should be allowed to exercise the presidency during the current year, or at any rate during 1949. These arguments received no encouragement from his colleagues.

The Position of the Powers

4. There was little change in the relative position enjoyed by the Powers in the various organs in the International Administration, though the new post of legal adviser was given to a Spaniard. The Spanish representative argued that such a concession would go some way towards meeting the Spanish claims for better representation of their interests in Tangier. After a good deal of hesitation the other Powers recognised the force of this argument and the Spanish Consul-General assured his colleagues that, if this concession was made, they would find the Spanish Government more co-operative. It was agreed by all concerned not to oppose the Spanish candidate, provided he proved, as in the event he was considered to do, to have the best qualifications. The assurance

given by the Spanish Consul-General was, however, quickly belied, and in June M. del Castillo made a long and formal declaration to the Committee of Control on the occasion of the choice of a new Administrator. The gist of the Spanish arguments was that it was not the moment to appoint a new Administrator inasmuch as the provisional arrangement of 1945 had been concluded for a period of six months, at the end of which the Powers at Paris had agreed that a new conference should be held. Nearly three years had passed since that undertaking had been given and the Spanish Government were not prepared to acquiesce in the indefinite continuation of the present situation. They were averse to appearing so to acquiesce by agreeing to the appointment of a new Administrator. Moreover, they did not agree that this post should be reserved for one of the minor Tangier Powers. They had in 1945 already made reserves regarding the manner in which Spain, with the largest colony and very considerable investments and commercial interests in Tangier, had been excluded from several of the posts which she formerly held in the Administration. Spain considered that the Powers had failed to carry out their undertaking and that the Committee of Control had also failed to remedy the position as it could have done by using its rights to modify the 1945 agreement.

5. Consideration was given in the weeks that followed, both locally and in London and Paris, to the possibility of Spain taking action to enforce her claims if these were not recognised. It was felt that, as the Spanish question might come up before the United Nations Assembly, and as Spain was thought to be desirous of being brought back into the comity of Western nations, she would be unlikely to take any action in Tangier which might prejudice the wider issues at stake. The Spanish Consul-General, however, continued in conversation with his French colleague to press the Spanish claims to the control of or a post of Deputy Commander in the International Police. The Spaniards had been in command of the gendarmerie before 1940 and attached the greatest importance to this post in view of the interest which they had in seeing that no attempts against the security of Spain or of the Spanish Zone were prepared in Tangier. M. del Castillo also put forward, in conversation, claims for a revival of a post in the French Customs which Spain had formerly held, and a new claim for a post in the Mendoubia alongside the French Controller. The French Government were thought to be prepared if necessary to concede the post in the customs, but were strongly opposed to giving the Spaniards anything in the Mendoubia, and the proposed change in the police would have necessitated a modification of the 1945 agreement. Other Powers, including His Majesty's Government, although recognising that the 1945 agreement had changed the balance of influence in the International Administration to the prejudice of Spain, felt that it would be difficult for the Committee of Control to revise the article of the 1945 agreement which concerned the police without thought also being given to other desirable revisions of the Statute. Several of the articles of the Statute which His Majesty's Government would wish to see revised were not affected by the 1945 agreement and could therefore only be revised by full conference. There was, however, in several countries, still felt to be strong political objection to any negotiations on Tangier with the Franco Government. No answer was therefore returned to the Spanish requests and when in November, on a purely sanitary excuse, the Spanish Government suddenly stopped the transit of flour and vegetables from the French Zone to Tangier, it was generally felt that the Spaniards were trying to put pressure on the Powers. The Administration, however, acted with energy, and organised an air and sea lift which enabled Tangier to continue to receive its essential food-stuffs. A Franco-Spanish commission was appointed to discuss the sanitary questions at issue and agreed, after a few weeks, to reopen the frontier of the Spanish Zone to vegetables and fruit in transit to Tangier, except for oranges and potatoes. It is probable that the Spanish action was the result of a decision in Madrid to try and secure the Tangier market for Spanish oranges and that the Spanish Consul-General tried to take advantage of this action to press for political concessions which would enhance his prestige. If so, he failed.

6. At the time of the Spanish declaration in June the Portuguese Consul-General made it clear that his Government would also not be prepared to acquiesce in the indefinite continuation of the present arrangement whereby they had only one representative in the Assembly and no judge in the Mixed Court, unless perhaps they could be found some post in the Administration to compensate them for the loss of the post of Administrator. The Italian Government also desired to recover the position which they enjoyed under the 1928 agreement, but they so far have presented no claims.

7. In consideration, no doubt, of the fact that the size of the various national delegations on the Legislative Assembly is related to the size of the various colonies and the trade and investments of the countries concerned, the Spanish Consul-General has been busy in conniving at, if not encouraging, the investment of refugee Spanish capital, and in regrouping round the Spanish Consulate an extensive Spanish centre which now includes two schools, a large hospital, and to which a large new chancery with houses for secretaries is being added.

The Administration and Legislative Assembly

8. The 75-year-old Portuguese Administrator became more and more ineffective and the Portuguese Government evidently realised that his continuation in office was doing their prestige no good. When the Dutch Government let it be known that they were prepared to authorise the candidature of an exceptionally strong candidate in the shape of the former Political Director of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Portuguese Government made no attempt to insist that a new Administrator should be a Portuguese national. The admiral was allowed to retire gracefully on the grounds of old age, and, thanks to the co-operative attitude of the Portuguese Consul-General, the change was made without ill-feeling being aroused.

9. Jonkheer van Vredenburch, the new Administrator, arrived in Tangier in August and quickly showed himself to be a complete contrast to his predecessor. A man of intelligence and drive, he soon showed that he was not prepared to tolerate the easy-going ways of his predecessor which had resulted in the various officials of the Administration regarding themselves as showing allegiance to their respective consuls-general rather than to the Administrator. He at once introduced the revivifying breath of northern efficiency into the Administration and in particular in the sphere of public works which had steadily gone from bad to worse. The Spanish Government had, as is stated above, shown some opposition to the appointment of the new Administrator, and it was therefore not surprising that before long differences of opinion arose between the latter and the Spanish Consul-General (see paragraphs 5 above and 20 below).

10. Differences also arose between the Administrator and the Legislative Assembly. The latter body has always championed the principles of economic liberty and *laissez-faire*, and tended to react sharply to any kind of governmental interference or control. In November they fell foul of the Administration when they rejected certain plans of the Director of Finance for bringing order into the banking system of Tangier, where fresh banks, often of only nominal financial stability or integrity, are being founded every week or two. It was in vain that the Director of Finance argued that, unless the Tangier bankers organised themselves in some body which would give outside opinion some safeguards, Tangier financial houses might well fail to draw lasting profit from the exceptionally advantageous position they now enjoyed. The plans for building a new native town to replace the insanitary hovels in which the natives live—quite contentedly, it must be admitted—round the town were again held up by the opposition of the Assembly to any sort of State housing scheme. When this opposition was overcome it was decided to wait for the results of an international competition set up to secure a new town plan for Tangier. Similar opposition was made to the Administration's law for improving agriculture and the well-being of the fellah by setting up a fund to supply farmers with seed, stock, advice and loans. The fault was not all on the side of the Assembly as the Administration failed perhaps to take sufficient account of the latter's susceptibilities, and the Administrator, having learnt his lesson, is now proposing to reintroduce his various measures of social reform at a more gradual speed and in modified form.

11. Happier relations existed between the Administration and the Assembly on the matter of public concessions. The neglect and inefficiency on the part of the water and electric light companies, which had resulted in Tangier being very severely rationed in both these commodities, made both the Administration and the Assembly agree that some radical action must be taken. One solution was that the Administration should buy out or cancel both concessions and take over the operation of the two services themselves. Unfortunately,

the French and Spanish Consuls-General treated the attacks made on their respective companies as questions of national prestige and made it clear that they would mobilise their joint votes and those of the Moors, whom they control in the Assembly, in outvoting any measures of expropriation. The Assembly and the Administration therefore agreed that the best thing was to try and induce the two companies to admit a measure of investment and control by the Administration, and discussions to this end were opened towards the end of the year.

12. The public repute of the Mixed Tribunal has not risen during the year. On two occasions the Committee of Control felt it necessary to condemn action taken by the court. In the first case they objected to the fact that the Procureur had arrogated to himself powers to grant or withhold periods of delay when orders of expulsion had been issued by the courts to tenants of flats and houses. While they realised that in certain cases hardship might be caused if the court's decisions were invariably applied forthwith, and recognised that the Procureur was probably the official best fitted to authorise these delays, they felt it necessary to insist on legislative action being taken to give that official the right to fulfil these functions. The second case concerned the payment of pensions to retired employees of the Administration. When the Spaniards occupied Tangier in 1940 they liquidated the Administration's pension fund by paying employees the sums which were then due to them. Employees who were re-engaged by the Administration after 1945 claim that their pensions should be calculated on the whole period of their service and not merely on that since 1945. An action in this sense was brought against the Administration, which lost the case. The decisions of the tribunal were based on statements that the Spanish action in liquidating the pensions fund was illegal and therefore null and void under article 6 of the Paris Agreement of 1945. But the question whether any of the actions of the Spanish authorities in Tangier between 1940 and 1945 were to be declared illegal was reserved by that article for the Committee of Control. That body therefore felt it necessary to decide that the tribunal had exceeded its powers, but as they recognised that the claim of some of the employees was a strong one in equity, they passed an ordinance authorising the Administration to take account of the earlier years of service when computing an employee's pensions claims.

13. The Mendoub died in February and his son and first Khalifa continued to act for him. The protectorate authorities were anxious that Si Ahmed Tazi should be appointed in his father's place and, although a typically conservative Moor and well in the pockets of the French, Si Ahmed would probably be the best choice. The Sultan, however, has so far refused to nominate him. In the autumn the Bureau of the Assembly invited Si Ahmed in his personal capacity to preside over meetings until a new Mendoub should be appointed.

Nationalism

14. During 1948 the Moroccan Nationalist leaders seem to have begun to realise that the hopes aroused during the war were unlikely to be realised very soon. The discretion shown by His Majesty's Government, later followed by the United States Government in their dealings with Moroccan Nationalists, the preoccupations of the Arab League with Palestine and the failure of the Arab States against the Jews, together with the severe discouragement given to them in both French and Spanish Zones, resulted in a severe slump of the Nationalist stock.

15. At the end of January a little trouble arose in Tangier on the feast of Bou Arakia, the town's patron saint, when a procession organised by the Nationalists came to mild blows with the police. In February Abdul Khalek Torres, the leader of the Reform Party in the Spanish Zone, returned to Tangier from Cairo. The refusal of the Spanish authorities to allow him to enter the Spanish Zone was the occasion for trouble in Tetuan. Torres has since been living quietly in Tangier. Mekki Naciri, the leader of the Moroccan Unity Party, has been equally quiet and short of funds since the suspension of his paper *La Voix de Maroc* in 1947. He is planning a new paper in Arabic, which, he says, is to be purely literary and cultural. In December Alla el Fasi, the leader of the Independence Party in the French Zone, who had for some time been in the Middle East, arrived from Cairo, and other Nationalist leaders or sympathisers have visited Tangier from time to time. Early in the year the French authorities expressed concern lest Tangier should become a centre for Nationalist gatherings and intrigues and viewed with some anxiety the possibility of the return of Torres and Fasi. The fact that these fears have been shown exaggerated perhaps means that Tangier is likely in present conditions to become a backwater where leaders tend to lose touch with their people and be forgotten rather than a centre of dangerous sedition. It was perhaps with some realisation of this that Mekki Nasiri in November undertook a tour of the French Zone, which is believed to have sent his stock up considerably. The French continued during the year to play off one Nationalist leader against another and to exaggerate, as far as they could, the divisions and jealousies among the Nationalists and between the orthodox followers of the Sultan and the heterodox maraboutists.

16. At the moment nationalism is not a dangerous issue in Tangier, and it seems likely that during this year Nationalist leaders have come to some glimmering of the truth in the fact that Morocco will not be fit for unity, independence and self-government for a very long time.

Communism

17. The Communist groups in Tangier consist of the Spanish Communist Party, with its youth's and women's sections, and the Moroccan Communist Party. Instructions for both parties come from Casablanca and probably emanate from France. Neither is very numerous or dangerous. Tangier is not very fertile soil for communism, for, while there are no labour laws and conditions of work are often bad, trade is booming and employment good. Moreover, among the Moors there are very real religious objections to the spread of communism. While reports are to be heard of the Nationalists turning towards Russia in despair of getting support from England and America, it is probable that these stories are put out to frighten the French.

18. There is some communism among the French employees of the Administration and in the French Post Office and schools, but it is not dangerous. In fact, it is probably chiefly to the fact that Tangier is a centre through which Communist movements in various countries can be conveniently financed that any Communist interest in Tangier is due.

Contraband

19. A considerable contraband trade in goods much coveted in Spanish territory continued to be conducted from Tangier. Several vessels used in this trade are of British registration and on more than one occasion ships flying the British flag were seized by Spanish guardships. The Committee of Control, anxious to check this contraband trade, examined the draft of a law which has, however, not yet been approved owing to the failure of the legal adviser and the Director of Customs to agree on what is desirable.

Wireless

20. No progress was made between London, Paris and Washington towards agreement on the lines on which broadcasting operations in Tangier should be controlled. The United States Government, however, did succeed in persuading the French Government to acquiesce in their desire to set up in Tangier a station for relaying the State Department's "Voice of America" programme to the Near and Far East. The French Government seem also to have become readier to adopt a more practical attitude in regard to the position of the American broadcasting companies in Tangier under American capitulatory rights, and also in regard to their previous claim to a monopoly of broadcasting rights for the Shereefian Government. Since, failing agreement between the three Governments, no action had been taken by the Administration to pass a law regulating the conditions of application of the Madrid Convention to Tangier, it was not surprising that further new stations should try and establish themselves. Thus during the summer an Italian called Pirelli of doubtful antecedents attempted to start a station called "Atlantis" for the avowed purpose of broadcasting lists of missing persons on behalf of the International Refugee Organisation. The Administration drew the company's attention to the fact that the Madrid Convention had been applicable to the zone since June 1947 and that no station could operate without having been granted a licence and wave-length. "Atlantis" allowed itself to be cowed by this communication, but about the same time a Spanish company erected a station for the purpose of conducting wireless telephonic communication between Tetuan, Tangier and Madrid. The Administrator proposed to take similar action with regard to this company. The Spanish Consul-General objected strongly and took the matter to the Committee of Control, where he argued that the Madrid Convention had

not been properly applied in 1947 and was not in force in the zone, and that, in consequence, there was nothing illegal about the Elmar Company. These and other arguments were felt by the Committee of Control to have some substance, and the committee rejected the law voted by the Assembly for the purpose of enforcing the Madrid Convention and of confirming its application to the zone in June 1947. This made it necessary for the Committee of Control to draft and vote a new decree which not only met the Spanish arguments while avoiding stating that the convention had not been properly applied in 1947. The French, to whose unwillingness to face realities the long delays in controlling broadcasting in Tangier were chiefly due, tried to get the decree to place the Administrator under the orders of Rabat in so far as the licensing of wireless stations is concerned. This was successfully resisted and the decree voted on Christmas Eve will, it is hoped, result in limiting the number of stations set up in Tangier and prevent the zone becoming the base for a wireless war of propaganda to near Eastern or other countries.

Port

21. A contract was awarded in the spring to the Ligonnet Company for the construction of a passenger quay on the main breakwater, which will leave the existing quay free for cargo vessels. This work should be finished by the middle of 1949. During the year the port company's fleet of lighters has been renewed and expanded and, when the tugs and cranes have also been renewed, the port should be able to handle its annual traffic of merchandise, which now amounts to about 150,000 tons a year against a pre-war figure of 80,000 tons.

Tobacco Monopoly

22. By a law voted in December the Assembly agreed to prolong the concession of the Régie des Tabacs until the end of the year following the introduction of a permanent Statute of the Zone, or for five years, whichever is shorter. No agreement could be reached on the introduction of a free régime for the sale and manufacture of tobacco.

Aviation

23. Gibraltar Airways continued to operate their daily service between Gibraltar and Tangier with remarkable regularity. The Chartair Company withdrew from operations. A number of foreign charter companies also operate from time to time. The new runway was completed to a length of 1,700 metres and considerable progress was made in the construction of the new airfield buildings and of the new road which will shorten the distance to Tangier.

Naval Visits

24. During the year official naval visits were paid by an Italian naval cadet training vessel *Amerigo Vespucci*, by the Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean, in H.M.S. *Liverpool* and by the Spanish naval cadet training ship *Juan Sebastian Elcano*. H.M. cruiser *Phœbe* also paid a two-day unofficial visit to Tangier in the summer.

Exchange Rates

25. The outstanding features of exchange-rate movements during the year were the fluctuations of the peseta and the franc. The former stood at 135 to the £ in January, appreciated to 92·50 in May and then declined to close at 120 to the £. The latter depreciated throughout the whole year to a total extent of about 100 per cent. The franc/sterling rate in January was 1,000 compared with 2,000 at the close. In relation to the dollar sterling started at $3·40 to the £, dropped to $2·70 and not only recovered, but made gains to finish at $3·70.

J 1239/1082/28 No. 2

DELIMITATION OF THE FRONTIER BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND INTERNATIONAL ZONES OF MOROCCO

Meeting of the Committee of Control

Acting Consul-General Garner to Mr. Bevin. (*Received* 14*th February*)

(No. 22) *Tangier*,
Sir, 9*th February*, 1949.

With reference to Mr. Mallet's secret despatch No. 79 of 18th June, 1948, and to Foreign Office secret despatch No. 51 of 18th June regarding the delimitation of the frontier between the International and the Spanish Zones of Morocco, I have the honour to inform you that this subject came up again before the Committee of Control at its last meeting held on Monday, 7th February.

2. The French Consul-General stated that the Protectorate authorities in Rabat had refused to make any comment on the decisions of 1885 and 1936 referred to in paragraph 4 of Mr. Mallet's despatch under reference. In the view of the Rabat authorities these decisions were purely local and were applicable only to the territorial disputes between the tribes in question. They were not diplomatic or political documents in any way and had no relevance whatsoever to the question of the delimitation of the frontier between the zones.

3. The Belgian Consul-General, who represents the Committee of Control on the Mixed Boundary Commission, said that he entirely agreed with this view. He quoted the relevant extract from the French text of the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1912 (a copy of which is enclosed for ease of reference) and by producing a copy of the Spanish staff map referred to therein showed that the arguments of the Spanish members of the Mixed Commission had no foundation. He admitted that the map was not perfect and that certain minor modifications and adjustments would be necessary, but the map was amply clear enough to show that the Spanish claims were quite unjustified. He concluded by saying that as his instructions were simply to deal with the delimitation of the frontier, and as what the Spanish side were putting forward amounted to alterations of substance to the frontier, the Tangier members of the Mixed Commission were withdrawing from that body pending further instructions.

4. The Spanish Consul, who was sitting in place of the Spanish Consul-General, who is ill, asked to be excused from replying as he said that it was a very complicated matter and that quite frankly he knew nothing about it. He said that he would take note of the remarks of the French and Belgian Consuls-General and that his chief would make his reply in due course. At the moment, therefore, the matter is in obeyance pending the Spanish reply.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to His Majesty's Consul-General at Tetuan.

I have, &c.
F. F. GARNER.

Annex

Convention Franco-Espagnole du 27 Novembre 1912

Art. 7. La ville . . .

* * *

Partant de Punta Altares sur la côte Sud du détroit de Gibraltar, la frontière se dirigera en ligne droite sur la crête du Djebel–Beni–Meyimel, laissant à l'Ouest le village appelé Douar-es-Seitoun et suivra ensuite la ligne des limites entre le Fahs d'un côté et les tribus de l'Andjera et de l'oued Ras de l'autre côté jusqu'à la rencontre de l'oued Es-Seghir. De là, la frontière suivra le thalweg de l'oued Es-Seghir, puis ceux des oueds M'Harhar et Tahadartz jusqu'à la mer.

Le tout conformément au tracé indiqué sur la carte de l'Etat-Major Espagnol qui a pour titre : " Croquis del Imperio de Marruecos " à l'échelle de 1/100,000e, édition de 1906.

J 4373/1015/28 No. 3

PROBLEMS FACING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF TANGIER

Conversation with M. van Vredenburch

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Bevin (Received 23rd May)

(No. 51) *Tangier,*
Sir, *14th May,* 1949

The Administrator of the Zone called on me yesterday to discuss various points connected with the Administration and in the course of conversation spoke at some length of the difficulty of getting anything done here under the present system.

2. M. van Vredenburch is, as you know, an able and intelligent man, whom we are lucky to have at the head of the Administration. If he were to make a mistake, which I do not think he has done so far, it would probably be by trying to do too much with the means at his disposal. He is perfectly aware of the inevitable limitations imposed on the international régime by the play of conflicting interests in the Legislative Assembly and the Committee of Control, but he is not the man to give up without a struggle. As reported in my letter to Mr. Clutton of 3rd May, he has recently obtained the agreement on principle of the Assembly to the raising of a loan of $4 million for public works and improvements. He has now submitted a comprehensive programme of work to be carried out. He introduced this at the last meeting of the Legislative Assembly with a short exhortatory speech, of which I enclose a record,(1) and it has now been referred for study to the appropriate committee.

3. M. van Vredenburch mentioned this programme to me yesterday and spoke of the grave need of action if the International Administration were not to fall into justifiable disrepute. He referred particularly to the high cost of living caused by the flow of refugee capital to Tangier; to the bad living conditions of the Moorish population, as well as to the perennial difficulties affecting the supply of water and electricity. He was very much afraid, nevertheless, that nothing would be done this year. The Assembly were in general reluctant to sanction increased expenditure. Worse than this, he was forced to the conclusion that the Spanish authorities, who exercised strict control over their representatives, made it their object to prove that the international régime was unworkable. He expected increased obstruction from the Spaniards during the absence of the French and United States Ministers (both of whom are on leave). His programme would probably be buried in the committees of the Assembly. Then would come the holiday season during which it was next to impossible to get anything done, and by September the Administration and the Assembly would be engaged upon the budget for next year.

4. After we had discussed some specific questions which are due for consideration by the Committee of Control, M. van Vredenburch reverted to the general problem and said that he had been told by the director-general of the Banque d'Etat du Maroc, who is in Tangier, that people in Rabat were beginning to wonder whether the time had not come after all to call a conference to revise the statute. I told M. van Vredenburch that, as far as I was aware, His Majesty's Government still thought that the time for this had not come.

5. I may mention, in this connexion, that the Resident-General, when I called on him in Rabat recently, let fall the remark that in his view we should have sooner or later to make some concession to the Spaniards, but my French colleague, to whom I spoke afterwards, gave me no reason to suppose that the French Government were moving towards the idea of holding a conference.

6. Finally, M. van Vredenburch informed me in confidence that an agreement had been reached between the French and Spanish authorities after discussions, which he had instigated privately through the French engineer-in-chief of the zone, by which he hoped that the shortage of electricity in Tangier would be overcome through the supply of current from the French to the Spanish Zone, which would in turn be able to supply Tangier. M. van Vredenburch went on to say that he wondered whether this agreement, satisfactory in itself, might not mark the beginning of a Franco-Spanish understanding about Tangier. He would like, in this connexion, to ask me a question. Did I think that

(1) Not printed.

the Administration of Tangier should be made more international or that, on the other hand, it should be allowed to become the sort of Franco-Spanish condominium that it had been in practice before the war? He had put this question to the United States Minister before he went on leave and Mr. Plitt had seemed to be in favour of the international solution. He did not ask for an immediate answer from me, but would like me to think the matter over. He hastened to say that he himself had no *parti-pris*. He found the French Assistant Administrator easy to work with and he would go so far as to point out that on the other hand the French could make the position of an international régime to which they were opposed practically untenable by stirring up trouble among the Moors, which they could easily do by the expenditure of a few thousand francs through the special relations of their officials with the Moorish population.

7. I think that the primary object of M. van Vredenburch's visit was to counteract the obstruction which he expects the Spaniards to oppose to the plans of the Administration in the Committee of Control. He mentioned that he intended to speak also to the Dutch Minister on at least one of the subjects we discussed. In the second place, I imagine that he wanted to fly his kite and see how the wind blew on the subject of a conference to revise the Statute. Though he was careful to say that he had no wish to talk politics, M. van Vredenburch is too much accustomed to dealing with foreign affairs not to wish to keep in touch with any international developments which may affect his work here and also perhaps to play some part in shaping them. Being inclined to favour root and branch methods, he would, I think, welcome a conference as a chance of re-organising the Administration on lines which would make for more efficient government. His final question was, no doubt, intended to suggest that, if we wish him to resist encroachments by the French and Spaniards, we ought to give him all the support we can in the difficult task of carrying on an efficient administration.

8. I assume that you, Sir, still consider that it would be premature to call a conference to revise the Statute at least until our relations with Spain are on a better footing. As for M. van Vredenburch's question, it appears to me that although Tangier may have lost most of the strategic importance that it once had, it is still in our interest to maintain the international character of the régime here, provided that it can be made to work. To allow the French or the Spaniards or the two together to dominate Tangier might not do much direct harm to our interests as a whole (though the interests of individual British subjects would suffer), but it would, in my view, be a retrograde step and one which might have a bad effect on American opinion as showing a lack of faith in the possibility of international co-operation between the Western Powers. I have the honour to enquire whether you would approve of my informing the Administrator that, with due regard for the special position of the French in relation to native affairs, I am instructed to support as far as possible the maintenance of a truly international administration in Tangier.

I have, &c.
C. N. STIRLING.

J 5682/1019/69 No. 4

FRENCH POLICY IN NORTH AFRICA

Statement by General Juin at Opening of the Conseil du Gouvernement in Morocco

Consul-General Cane to Mr. Bevin. (Received 12th July)

(No. 22) *Rabat,*
Sir, *6th July,* 1949.

I have the honour to report that the Conseil du Gouvernement opened its annual summer session on 20th June.

In his long address to the French section the Resident-General opened by making reference to the words of M. Auriol, President of the French Republic, on the occasion of his recent visit to

Tlemcen. M. Auriol said: "We think that it is here on this Algerian territory that the East and the West will be able mutually to understand each other and increase this understanding. It is false to say that the one has a past and the other a future: both have had a past and both have a future. Together it will be our task to devote each day to social reality and the betterment of justice, of well-being and of wisdom in order that men may be educated to a sense of liberty and personal dignity. This will not prove too hard for the combined efforts of France and Islam and our common faith in human destiny."

These words, said General Juin, had been received with great satisfaction and should put an end to all misunderstanding and polemics, since here was reaffirmed France's determination to adhere faithfully to the treaty she had signed and the statute that resulted. The mission of the French was solely to guide the Moroccan people and to bring them by a slow evolution to adapt conditions of life of a modern State bound to the West. Everything was here and it was only a question of education and of forming every-increasing cadres of technicians and administrators which, conjointly with the proposed reforms, will eventually lead to the free play of democratic liberties and accession to posts of leadership. All this was, however, dependent on there being complete loyalty and trust throughout the country. There were many wise heads in the country who appreciated this and gave it their support, and the majority of the population was behind them; but there were also malcontents who were prepared to stick at nothing to upset the general peace and undo the work of the French and these would be treated "sans faiblesse."

The local press has laid great stress on these words, which are considered by the French inhabitants to be indicative of France's determination to adhere faithfully to the provisions of the treaty with this country.

However, at the opening ceremony of the Moroccan section of the conseil, which took place on 23rd June, General Juin said that he had received a request from the Moroccan Chamber of Commerce that this part of his speech be omitted from his opening address. General Juin said he was happy to do so, but it must be borne in mind that he was in effect making a public speech and it was necessary that the country should realise the determination of the French to maintain law and order. It was not, of course, intended for the Moroccan members of the conseil, who enjoyed his complete confidence. An interpreter thereupon read a translation of the remainder of the Resident-General's speech, which dealt with the economic and social subjects.

It was necessary that Morocco should increase her exports at all costs. This, said the general, could only be brought about by a reduction in prices and better workmanship. In his reference to the position of the harvests, prospects for this year were considered to be about the same as last year, though the Fez district had suffered very considerably as a result of the recent heavy and destructive storms. One of the most important problems which would have to be discussed by the conseil was that of housing, the lack of which continued to be very acute. So far as prices were concerned, he said that a new system was to be adopted as a result of which it was hoped that present conditions would revert to those of pre-war days when freedom was the rule and taxation the exception. The Price Control Board and local price-control committees will cease to function after 31st December, 1949. However, local authorities will have the power to impose taxation where necessary in order to prevent speculation on goods of prime necessity. Government trading will also cease.

Another point in his speech, which was warmly received by the press, was the statement that he sincerely hoped that every one of the large economic departments should be assisted by representatives from this assembly whose duty it would be to make known to the responsible authorities the reaction and requirements of public opinion. He had not given up hope of realising an administrative reform which would result in closer co-ordination between the Moroccan services and the local administrators. General Juin also expressed his satisfaction at being able to state that the country was settling down peaceably after the troubles of the war years.

Reference was also made to the encouraging prospects of the proposals, made last January, in connexion with the re-equipment of the country: the work carried out by the Ministry of Public Works, though various obstacles such as a lack of credits prevented them from fulfilling their full programme; the healthy condition of the mining industries, the recent measures for the betterment of health and social services and the Administration's desire to increase educational facilities were all commented upon.

As might be expected, this speech was warmly applauded by the French members of the conseil and has received most favourable comment in the press. At the end of the reading of the translation of it to the Moroccan members, whose applause was much more restrained, General Juin made an especial appeal to them for their wholehearted co-operation, pledging his wholehearted support, so that the interests of the country may be furthered to the greatest possible extent.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Paris, Cairo, Tunis, Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier, Fez, Casablanca and the Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.

CYRIL H. CANE.

J 6097/1019/69

No. 5

OPENING SESSIONS OF THE CONSEIL DU GOUVERNEMENT IN FRENCH MOROCCO

Consul-General Cane to Mr. Bevin. (*Received 27th July*)

(No. 23) *Rabat,*
Sir, *19th July*, 1949.

In my immediately preceding despatch I had the honour to report on the speech made by the Resident-General on the occasion of the opening of the French and Moroccan sessions of the Conseil du Gouvernement on 20th June last.

At the conclusion of General Juin's speech the French session settled to work. The meeting opened with one of the members complaining that the Administration were not as precise as was desirable in replying to written questions. He expressed indignation that no Committee had been set up to investigate the vital housing problem and said no proper organisation existed for dealing with the work of the Conseil. He wished to see private motions substituted for motions emanating from the Conseil as a whole. The reply given to the last proposal was that it was too late now to introduce any new ideas and that business would proceed as usual.

The meeting proceeded in a calmer atmosphere than usually prevails. The first day's proceedings were occupied by financial and economic questions, the following day public works and social questions were discussed, and the third and last day was given over to discussion of the housing problems and answers to private questions. In his closing speech the Resident said that it was desirable that closer contact should be made with Paris and, commenting on France's recovery from the war years, urged faith in her future.

The Moroccan session opened on 23rd June and the programme was on the same lines. Great interest was shown in the Public Works projects and in agricultural affairs: and the housing and social questions were closely followed. At the end General Juin congratulated the members on the high level of their deliberations and on the keen attention given to the important problems confronting them. He was glad to see a strong social sense being developed which augered well for the future of the country.

On 28th and 29th June the economic commissions of both sections of the Conseil met and on 30th June the result of their deliberations appeared in the press.

As from 1st July the vexatious "Taxe sur les Transactions" is modified. The sale of plain bread is unchanged at 32 fr. the kilog. but rolls and fancy bread will be sold at 25 fr. the 700 grammes and 13 fr. the 300 grammes. Petrol is de-rationed but the price is increased by 1.50 fr. per litre. There is to be no increase in the price of lubricating oils and paraffin. The "Caisse de Compensation" is to be liquidated, those activities which have still to be carried on being transferred to the relevant departments. The function of the "Caisse de Compensation" is the levying of taxes on exports, the revenue of which is used to reduce the prices of imports.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Paris, Tangier, Tetuan, Fez and Casablanca.

I have, &c.

CYRIL H. CANE.

J 4373/1015/28 No. 6

POLICY OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE FUTURE OF TANGIER

Mr. Attlee to Acting Consul-General Garnier (Tangier)

(No. 60) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *16th August*, 1949.

I have received and studied Mr. Stirling's despatch No. 51 of the 14th May, in which you asked for guidance on His Majesty's Government's policy regarding the future of Tangier. The necessity for such guidance arose from a conversation you recently had with the Administrator and the specific points you raised were, whether it was still considered premature by His Majesty's Government to call a Conference to consider a permanent statute for the zone and secondly whether it was His Majesty's Government's policy to support the maintenance of an international administration in Tangier with due regard to the special position of the French in relation to native affairs.

2. It is still my view that the time is not yet ripe for the calling of a Tangier Conference as provided for in the 1945 Agreement. Public opinion in this country and elsewhere is still extremely sensitive on the question of Franco Spain and the relevant provision of the Final Act of the Conference concerning the re-establishment of the international régime in Tangier specifically lays down that while a Conference shall not be held without Spanish participation, it is not desirable that Spain should be invited so long as the present Government in Spain continues in power (see Resolution No. 9).

3. As regards the second point, the position is more difficult. British interests in Tangier are now very limited and from this point of view no very great harm would result from the establishment in Tangier of a régime giving preponderant influence to France and Spain. (The preponderant interest of France and Spain in Tangier was in fact recognised in the Tangier Conventions of both 1923 and 1929.) Fresh recognition, however, of this preponderant interest would mean sacrificing some of the internationalisation which was the basis of the 1945 Agreement. On the other hand, the present régime which gives leading posts in the Administration to members of the smaller powers has not, in the opinion of many, been an unqualified success, and in their opinion it is unlikely ever to be so because it does not take account of the realities of the position and of the predominant French and Spanish interests.

4. At the same time, it must be recognised that there is no indication that United States policy has departed from advocacy of internationalisation and until the conditions in which a Conference to establish a permanent régime are known, it is not possible to give proper consideration to the policy which His Majesty's Government would wish to adopt. Nor am I at present aware of the French attitude. In these circumstances, I find it difficult to express an opinion other than that in formulating their policy regarding the future régime in Tangier, His Majesty's Government must take account of the fact that the interests of France and Spain are greater than those of any other power. I therefore, suggest that if you consider it necessary to speak to the Administrator on this second point you should say that until circumstances are such as to render possible the calling of a Conference, it is difficult for His Majesty's Government to express any view on their policy regarding the future régime to be established in Tangier and that you cannot say more than they would have to take into account the fact that France and Spain have greater interests in the territory than any other power.

I am, &c.
C. R. ATTLEE.

J 9609/1019/69 No. 7

SITUATION IN FRENCH MOROCCO

Renewed Activities of the Istiqlal Party

Consul-General Cane to Mr. Clutton (African Department) (*Received 9th December*)

Rabat,
Dear Clutton, *16th November*, 1949.

I enclose copies of two proclamations(1) I have recently received from the Secretary of the Istiqlal Party.

One protests against the sale of some 1,000 hectares of first class acreage to French veterans, at a low price and the other, as you will see, is a routine fulmination against the French and Spanish authorities; delight at the Independence of Indonesia, and encouragement to the insurgents in Indo-China.

Now that the summer is over the Party springs to life and feels it must justify its existence by openly denouncing all and sundry. It has been particularly somnolent for some months, as nothing appeared from its secretary between August and November and I received two statements at the same time.

There is little doubt that Juin's iron discipline has somewhat deterred the party from open criticism, but I am given to understand on very good authority that there is considerable activity underground. As of old, it is all talk and no new leader with courage and boldness has yet appeared.

The cost of living is steadily rising—13·2 per cent. since 31st March, 1949—there has been a drought and there is still no sign of real rain other than a few showers. The citrus farmers are very worried as the fruit is in poor shape and of bad colour.

The Pasha of Casablanca, the eldest son of the Grand Vizir, died a few days ago and the vacancy is keenly contested. One candidate, a poor relative of the Sultan's, has been eliminated by being appointed Caïd elsewhere so his application was still-born. One of the other candidates has reputedly offered the Sultan 30 million francs for the job; this is a pretty meagre offer and he will have to up the ante considerably to stand a chance. No one has yet been appointed—a cynical French official told me the candidates were being weighed up.

The authorities here take a dim view of the repressive police measures being taken in the Spanish Zone and are quite worried about the effect they may have on the stability of the country as a whole, although armed uprising is not expected. These measures give the Nationalists a peg to hang their complaints on.

Yours ever,
CYRIL H. CANE.

(1) Not printed.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

J 7582/1012/28

No. 8

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TANGIER

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Bevin. (*Received 26th September*)

(No. 102. Confidential) *Tangier*,
Sir, *17th September*, 1949.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on leading personalities at Tangier for the year 1949.

I have, &c.
C. N. STIRLING.

Enclosure

Report on the Leading Personalities in the Tangier Zone of Morocco

EUROPEANS

1. Aldegunde, Reverend Father Francisco
Spaniard. Franciscan. Succeeded Father Betanzos as Bishop of Tangier and Spanish Morocco with title of Bishop of Fussala. Pleasant middle-aged man who seems broad-minded and friendly. The able and intelligent Padre Lopez continues as his secretary.

2. Apostoli, Giovanni
Italian judge, appointed in succession to Fernando Malmusi, when the latter was revoked on account of his Fascist tendencies in 1945. Apostoli is not a brilliant jurist nor an outstanding personality, but he appears to enjoys a fair reputation for honesty locally.

3. Artous, Louis
French second-in-command of the International Police and virtually in control of it. Was in the resistance movement in France during the war and was imprisoned at Buchenwald. An agreeable and shrewd personality, who effectively presses French interests. It has been rumoured that he is a crypto-Communist but no evidence against him is so far forthcoming.

4. Bastianelli, Auguste
Director of French Public Instruction in Tangier. The institutions he controls cover some 5,000 pupils. Politically he took the line of least resistance through the war. He is an able administrator, but is not well liked by his staff.

5. Cracco, François
Assistant Administrator of Finance. He is the Belgian nominee for that important post, and has acquitted himself with great efficiency and energy. He is a man of too high calibre for the job, and tends to get impatient with the businessmen of Tangier and with the members of the Legislative Assembly in their opposition to any sort of Government interference and control. Many of his ideas are sound but he tries to go too fast. Both M. Cracco and his wife are good socially, and speaking good English, mix freely with the British community. Having made himself unpopular with the Legislative Assembly by his contempt, M. Cracco has now unfortunately earned their suspicion by secretiveness and a reluctance to face criticism.

6. Crambes, Dr.
French Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, and president of the Anciens Combattants. He is generally regarded as being friendly in his attitude towards us.

7. De los Campos, Villarejo
Spaniard, born about 1900. Procureur of the Mixed Court, a post which he combines with similar functions in Tetuan. Rarely visits Tangier. Has British wife of Gibraltar origin and is believed to be not unfriendly.

8. Ellis, Lieut.-Colonel W. F., C.M.G., O.B.E.
British Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly. Retiring from the R.A.M.C., Colonel Ellis originally came to Tangier over twenty years ago as medical practitioner. He later founded the prosperous firm of Ellis and Co. During the war he was chief of the Press Office and received the C.M.G. in recognition of his work. He is an able and hard-headed business man, with a finger in many Tangier pies and extremely well informed on Tangier subjects, but his views are apt to be coloured by his own personal interest. He is correspondent of the London *Times*. One of the most forceful personalities in Tangier.

9. Girardière, Edmond
French Assistant Administrator of Native Affairs. An intelligent and able man, with considerable administrative experience, who appears to have the interests of the natives genuinely at heart.

10. González Gordon, Pedro (Marqués de Torresoto)
Spaniard, born about 1886. Head of the sherry firm of González Byass. Very wealthy. Completely pro-British, speaks English perfectly, related to the Gilbey family. Monarchist and anti-Falange.

11. Humbert, René
French member of the Legislative Assembly, and Director of the Port Concession.

12. Jecquier, Daniel
Retired French banker, very rich. M. Jecquier has always been friendly to this consulate-general. He owns a great deal of land, and has frequently been approached by various persons for sale of land for such purposes as aerodromes and wireless stations.

13. Katzaros, John
Of Greek origin, has been naturalised as a British subject. The Katzaros family have been connected with the British Legation and subsequently con-

sulate-general for the past sixty years, and were generally thought in Tangier to be British. They talk English at home. John Katzaros is secretary to the Legislative Assembly.

14. Legrand, Lieut.-Colonel V. J.
Chief of Police. The colonel is a nominee of the Belgian Government and was accompanied by nine other Belgian police officials. He gets on well with the French, who have made much of him. He does not appear to be as alive as his subordinates are to an undercurrent of French hostility to the Belgians. He is very much influenced by his French second-in-command, Commandant Artous.

15. Melenotte, Raoul
Chief engineer of the Public Works of the Zone. A pleasant type of French official. Hard working and efficient but is said to take bribes.

16. Merry, Diaz Manuel
Spanish judge of the Mixed Court, born about 1886. An able lawyer, but given to deciding cases by the light of reason rather than the rule of law. Acts as President of Appeal Court; reported to be under the influence of Catholic Church.

17. Parladé, Jaime
Spaniard, born about 1900. Educated at Stonyhurst. Originally an officer in the artillery and later in the International Gendarmerie of the International Zone. Remained in Tangier until just before end of civil war, in which he participated on the side of General Franco. Is now managing director of the local telephone company, which he runs efficiently; also engages in miscellaneous comercial transactions of a speculative kind. Affects to be pro-British, but was friendly to Axis during the war and is not to be trusted.

18. Rafferty, Michael Henry
Born 1877, British judge on the Mixed Court. Judge Rafferty is getting too old for his job, and while nobody questions his integrity, he is generally regarded as being easily influenced and having little will of his own. Has resigned with effect from 31st October, 1949.

19. Rodière, Yves
French procureur of the Mixed Court, born in 1885. Member of French judicial service. Able and very hard-working. Has spent most of his career in Morocco. Reputed to be corruptible.

20. Tovar, Duke of, and Marqués de Gauna
Son of a former Spanish Ambassador in Rome. Lived in Tangier unmolested throughout the war in spite of his Royalist sympathies. As a grandee of Spain he has recently taken a public stand as the principal Royalist in Tangier. His royalism is probably a matter of ideology and loyalty, and, prodigiously fat as he is, he does not give the impression of a man of action. Very rich.

21. Vallet, Jean
Born 23rd May, 1885. Appointed by Vichy as French judge at Tribunal Mixte. In 1940 was head of local "Action Française en Égypte" and was at that time described as one of the most dangerous Frenchmen in Egypt. Stated on all sides to be anti-British and to have been 100 per cent. collaborationist.

22. Vredenburch, Jonkheer
Succeeded Admiral Magalhaes de Correa as Administrator of the Zone in August 1948. Formerly a member of the Netherlands Diplomatic Service, M. van Vredenburch was Directeur-Politique at The Hague before being sent on a mission to Java with the rank of Cabinet Minister early in 1948. On appointment to Tangier he resigned from the Dutch service. M. van Vredenburch is a complete contrast to his predecessor. Young—in the forties—forceful and direct, of quick intelligence and speaking excellent English and French, he at once made his presence felt in the Administration. He is now perhaps beginning to realise that direct action is not always successful in Tangier. Mme. van Vredenburch, who is his second wife, is smart and good-looking. They have three children.

23. Wauters, Alfred
Born 1912. Belgian judge of the Mixed Court appointed to replace M. de Foy. Worked with Belgian Government in United Kingdom from 1943. Was Permier Substitut du Procureur du Roi up to date of his appointment to Tangier. Has lately married an English wife.

JEWS

1. Abensur, Aaron
British subject, born about 1895. Owns, with his brother Moses (Maurice), the local banking-house of Moses Pariente, established in 1844, with which this consulate-general and the former British Legation have banked for at least sixty years. Father naturalised in 1896 by special Act of Parliament on account of the family's long services to the Crown. Of undoubted loyalty, he is always ready to help His Majesty's Consulate-General and is a very sound and reliable banker.

2. Alster, Jakob
Banker. Polish born, 30th December, 1901. Has very bad reputation but is generally regarded as most able business man in Tangier.

3. Bendrao Ruah, Isaac
Born Tangier, 26th December, 1900. Said to be richest man in Tangier, very friendly with the more influential section of the Spanish colony and claims to be a close personal friend of General Varela.

4. Bengualid, Semtob
Moroccan subject, born about 1880. Local head of the firm of Isaac and Joseph Cohen, the principal importers of British goods. Slightly in difficulties of late. Hard worker and highly respected. Jewish member of the Legislative Assembly of the International Zone.

5. Hassan, Joseph
Portuguese subject, born about 1880. Very rich. Head of the Hassan family, who own the Salvador Hassan Bank. Bank's Tetuan agency acted as Franco's bankers in the civil war, other banks in the Spanish Zone being either foreign and non-interventionist or else controlled by Republican Madrid.

6. Salama Benatar, Isaac and Samuel
Have made a vast fortune during the war. Financial activities not above suspicion, but have never been black-listed.

MOSLEMS

1. Si Ahmed ben Hajj Majammad Tazi
The Mendoub's son and his First Khalifa. Born in 1901. Fought on Abdelkrim's side in the Riff campaign, 1926. Appointed Governor of Tangier prison, 1928. Later held post of Second Khalifa to his father until both were expelled in 1941. While in Rabat was Directeur de Ravitaillement. Returned with Mendoub on 11th October, 1945. More or less ran the Mendoub until latter's death in February 1948, since when he has been acting in his place. Si Ahmed Tazi is intelligent, speaks good French and plays the French game assiduously. He has inherited a large fortune from his father and is almost certainly not above grinding the faces of the faithful. The Sultan has so far steadily refused to appoint him Mendoub but, as he has been doing the work for years, he would probably be the best choice for the post in spite of his typically conservative Moorish outlook.

2. Si Mohammed ben Abderrahman Saidi
The Mendoub's Second Khalifa. Born about 1896. Native of Tangier. Son-in-law of Si Kaddor ben Ghabrit, the Sultan's "chef du protocole" in Paris. Has held minor posts at Mogador, Meknes and Rabat. Appointed to present position on 11th October, 1945. Modest, unassuming and friendly.

3. Si Mohammed Guennoun
Mendoub's Third Khalifa, born about 1908 in Fez but lived mostly in Tangier. Was Cadi's Khalifa before 1939, later notary. Has better reputation than Nos. 1 and 2. Is brother of No. 12.

4. Si Mohammed ben Driss ben Rahmoun
Kadi of Tangier. Born 1876 but does not look his age. Native of Fez. Formerly scribe at court of the Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz. Present at Paris and Madrid conferences on Tangier. Held post of Kadi at Mogador. Appointed to Tangier on re-establishment of International régime. Has bad reputation, reported to insist on bribes before signing documents or giving judgment. Professes to be a friend of England.

5. Moulay Ahmed el-Amrani
Mohtassib of Tangier, appointed 11th October, 1945. Born in 1871. Native of Fez. After learning trade of carpenter, became successively scribe to Mohtassib, Khalifa to Mohtassib and finally Mohtassib.

6. Si Abdessalam Shebaa
Born in 1881. Member of good old Tangier family. Holds post of "Bou Mouarit" (Curateur des Successions vacantes) and is also member of the Legislative Assembly. At the request of Mendoub remained in Tangier during Spanish occupation to help with supply questions. Dependable and friendly.

7. Moulay Ahmed ben Hajj Abdessalam el-Wazzani
Born in 1876. Son of well-known Shereef of Wazzan. Was Pasha of Wazzan, now retired.

8. Sidi Ahmed ben Sidi Mohammed ben Siddiq el-Ghomari
Born in 1901. Chief of the Derkaoua Fraternity, with some 400 followers in Tangier and others in surrounding tribes. Studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, and is anxious to return to Egypt. Clever and untrustworthy, ready to work for highest bidder. A source of worry and fear to the French authorities. Organiser of demonstration involving procession of some 3,000 natives through streets in 1947.

9. Si Abdelkrim Erkiouak
Born in 1896. Notary and senior scribe in International Administration. Worked steadily for our cause during the war.

10. Si Abderrahman Menebhi
Son of the late Sir Mehdi-el-Menebhi, G.C.M.G., and brother-in-law of the Pasha of Marrakesh, El Glaoui. Enjoys a certain prestige as the son of his father, but not very reliable or of strong character. Is under French influence.

11. Sidi Mohammed al-Mekki Nasiri
Born about 1907, formerly resident in Tetuan. Founder and leader of Moroccan Unity Party, editor of party's newspapers (*Al-Wahdah al-Maghribia*, suppressed by Spanish authorities, Tetuan; *La Voix du Maroc*, in 1947 by Committee of Control, Tangier). Founder and director of Moulay al-Mahdi Institute, Tetuan, with branch in Tangier. Studied in Cairo 1927–31 and revisited Egypt 1937–38 (where he still has good contacts) to found Beit-al-Maghrib. Probably more moderate Nationalist than some of his followers; professes admiration for Great Britain and United States, inclined to be wordy; an intellectual rather than a leader. Has recently started Arabic language daily newspaper which so far is non-political.

12. Si Abdullah Guennoun
Born about 1909. Taught in Franco-Arab school, left in order to start a "free" (*i.e.*, not officially controlled) school 1937. New school built by public subscription and opened 1947. French and Spaniards have both sought his allegiance, but he is reputed to be non-political. In any case, the French are much less suspicious of his activities than they are of Nasiri's.

13. Ahmed Belghiti Tlemsani
Born about 1912. Father a French subject (from Tlemçen). Editor of Arabic newspaper *Mourrakouch*, said to be financed by French. Newspaper suspended by Committee of Control for six months in 1947 on account of articles denouncing Spanish methods in Spanish Zone.

14. Si Ahmed Erkaina
Born about 1907. Owns large bakery. Probably most intelligent and outspoken of six Moorish members of Legislative Assembly.

15. Abd-el-Khalek Torres
Leader of the (Spanish Zone) Nationalist "Reform" Party. At present exiled in Tangier, and seems to be keeping quiet politically.

16. Si Allal el-Fassi
Leader of the (French Zone) "Democratic Independence" Party. Also exiled in Tangier and quiet.

Obituary

Betanzos, Reverend Father Antonio.
Si Mohammed Erkaina.

No. 9

TANGIER: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Bevin. (*Received 24th October*)

(No. 103. Confidential) *Tangier*,
Sir, *17th September*, 1949.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions at Tangier for the year 1949.

I have, &c.

C. N. STIRLING.

Enclosure in No. 9

Heads of Foreign Missions at Tangier, 1948

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Belgium

M. de Radiguès de Chennevière (arrived 19th February, 1945), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

*M. de Radiguès was counsellor in Paris at the outbreak of war and subsequently passed some time in a concentration camp. He is industrious and painstaking and enjoys preparing memoranda for the Committee of Control. As he is also able he is a very useful colleague. He has a pleasant if slightly malicious sense of humour. Both he and his wife, by whom he has three children, are socially minded and most friendly and pleasant colleagues. They both speak good English. M. de Radiguès has other grown-up children in Belgium by his first wife. (Written in 1947.)

France

M. Edmond de Beauverger (arrived 5th March, 1945), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

*M. de Beauverger is an officer *de carrière* of the French diplomatic service, who was at the Quai d'Orsay for the period preceding the war and on the collapse of France was appointed "chef du protocole" to the Vichy Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was not, however, many months before he saw the light and resigned, in consequence of which he found re-employment at Algiers under the Provisional French Government. (Written in 1946.)

M. de Beauverger takes his work very seriously and appears to be rather frightened of the Residency-General at Rabat. He certainly does nothing without their instructions, and when he professes to have been kept in the dark by Rabat he does not always carry conviction. It is probably impossible for the French representative in Tangier to be an absolutely frank colleague, but I feel that M. de Beauverger goes as far in this direction as can be hoped for. He speaks good English and is quick and intelligent and very friendly, and we like him and his wife very much. Mme. de Beauverger is unfortunately a martyr to arthritis. They have two daughters in their early 20's and a son of 19. (Written in 1948.)

Italy

M. Corrado Baldoni (arrived 12th October, 1948), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. Caruso left Tangier in August to take up a post in the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and was replaced by M. Baldoni who had been "chef de personnel." M. Baldoni gives the impression of being more intelligent and less excitable than his predecessor and is likely to be an abler and more distinguished representative of his country. Mme. Baldoni's father was, I understand, a high official at the Italian court. She speaks some English. (Written in 1948.)

M. Baldoni enjoys rather poor health and is not inclined to throw his weight about. Nevertheless, he pleads Italian interests ably on occasion and his country's position here certainly does not suffer from the fact that he has earned the reputation of a quiet, likeable and co-operative colleague.

Netherlands

M. Paul Staal (arrived 23rd January, 1946), consul-general.

*M. Staal is a retired member of the Netherlands consular service and spent almost his entire career in the Far East, India and Australia. During the war he and his wife suffered considerable hardships in Holland under German occupation. His two topics of conversation are the achievements of the British in India and his experiences in Holland during the war. On both he is rather a bore. (Written in 1947.)

He is sensible and friendly but rather lazy, and although serving this year as president of the Committee of Control, he has been absent for several months. Mme. Staal died here in the spring. (Written in 1948.)

Portugal

M. José Luiz Archer (arrived 11th October, 1947), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. da Cunha having been recalled to a post of Under-Secretary in Lisbon, he was replaced by M. Archer who had previously served in Vigo, Rio de Janeiro, and latterly in Lisbon. M. Archer is quick and energetic and has made an efficient president of the Committee of Control in the absences of the Dutch Consul-General. He is extremely pleased with himself and, though personally friendly, does not disguise his distrust of parliamentary governments and of democratic régimes. He speaks fair English. Mme. Archer is a pleasant if rather dull and lazy creature. They have two married children (though he must be under 50) and a younger girl here. (Written in 1948.)

Spain

Señor Don Cristóbal del Castillo arrived 10th September, 1945), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

Señor del Castillo joined the Spanish diplomatic service in 1917. He was minister-counsellor in Paris before the war and minister in Athens before serving here as consul-general from 1942–44 when he was appointed assistant under-secretary in Madrid. After the Paris Conference in 1945 he was reappointed consul-general in Tangier. During the war he gave the impression of being anti-British, but on his return evidently felt it desirable to disguise these feelings and he frequently spoke to me of the need for co-operation between Spain and the United Kingdom and the United States. He appeared to feel acutely the difficulty of his position as representative of a country which had been forced to relinquish her illegal occupation of Tangier, but still considered herself to have the strongest claims

to predominance here. He, therefore, kept to himself as much as possible and tried to prevent repercussions in Tangier of Spanish political problems and, apart from making long statements whenever he felt it necessary to place Spanish claims on record, he seemed anxious to avoid causing serious difficulties on the Committee of Control. During the last few months, however, M. del Castillo's attitude has changed for the worse and he has become extremely active in pressing for the restoration of Spain's former position in the International Administration. He evidently has considerable pull in Madrid and has worked hard to encourage the build-up of Spain's position here. He gives the impression of wishing to go down to history as the man who gave Spain a pre-eminent position in Tangier. The somewhat totalitarian methods which he now tends to employ make him an uncomfortable colleague on the Committee of Control. There is no doubt that he is able and cunning as well as ambitious. His wife, who is a charming little lady from Bilbao, speaks English. They have one son. (Written in 1948.)

He suffers from a liver complaint and is often unable to attend to business. His consul, Sainz de Llanos, who has the reputation of not being a very good Franquist, though bound to pursue Señor del Castillo's policy, is personally friendly and has a good deal of common sense.

United States

Mr. Edwin A. Plitt (arrived 22nd August, 1947), diplomatic agent and consul-general.

Mr. Plitt was born in 1891. He began life as an engineer and after the Great War joined the foreign service, being posted to Sofia, Constantinople, Athens and Paris, where he was in 1939. When relations were broken off with Germany Mr. Plitt returned to Washington and later became Chief of the War Problems Division in the State Department. In 1945 he was appointed counsellor in Berne. Mr. Plitt is a friendly, pleasant little man and although rather conceited he is an excellent colleague. He is also much more tactful with the French than his predecessor and relations between the American Legation and the French officials are much improved in spite of continuing French suspicion of American ambitions in Morocco. Mr. Plitt is rather serious minded and appears to be a sincere believer in Anglo-American co-operation and in democratic traditions. His wife, who is French, is very young-looking for her age and also very friendly. They have one boy of about 20. (Written in 1948.)

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